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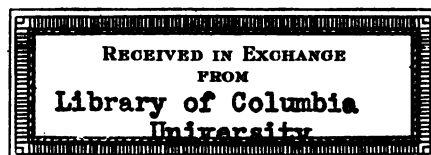
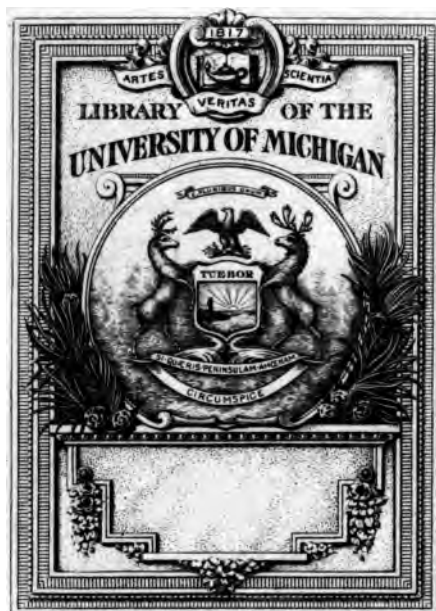
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TOFF-GUILLAUME DE MOLE



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GUILLAUME DE DOLE:

AN UNPUBLISHED

OLD FRENCH ROMANCE,

BY

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est maintenant à Rome." M. Servois, of the Archives Nationales at Paris, informs me that the Vatican MS. Regina 1725 is marked with Fauchet's name—a fact which I did not discover in my own examination of the manuscript. From M. Gaston Paris I learn that most of Fauchet's manuscripts found their way into the possession of Queen Christina. Fauchet's citations, moreover, from Guillaume de Dole accord with my own copy in such a way as to indicate that the variations are only inadvertences of printing.

Roquefort, *Glossaire* II. 769, col. 1, mentions "Guillaume de Dole, fonds de Cangé."

In the early part of the present century, J. Görres² refers to this MS. as "unter Nro., 1725, in der Bibliothek Christine in Rom aufgestellt."

No analysis of the poem has hitherto appeared. Görres, (l. c.) indicates in a few words its subject and plot with sufficient completeness to make it seem probable that he had read the entire poem, but his chief interest was confined, as was the case with Fauchet and the few subsequent investigators who have consulted the MS., to the numerous chansons and fragments of chansons which are intercalated in the romance. Fauchet directs especial attention to these chansons, citing the names of several of the authors, as given in the text, and quoting, at the same time, longer or shorter specimens of the chansons.

Mention is made of the MS. by F. H. von der Hagen, *Briefe in die Heimath*, Breslau, 1818, Thl. II., p. 342, (cf Wolf, l. c., p. 4, note 2), but I have not been able to consult this book.

Many years later, in *Romvart, Beiträge zur Kunde mittelalterlicher Dichtung aus italiänischer Bibliotheken*, Mannheim & Paris, 1844, Adelbert Keller published extracts of some length, from the beginning and end of the poem, including a few of the chansons. (1-406; 5597-5624).

Towards 1850, Messrs. Daremberg and Renan, upon their "mission scientifique et littéraire en Italie," undertook, at the instance of M. Paulin Paris, to examine the Vatican MS. with special reference to these chansons. Their report, in the "Archives des Missions, etc.," for the year 1850, Paris 1855, pp. 279-292, contains a considerable number, but by no means all of them. In two instances the copyist, in making his transcrip-

²*Altdeutsche volks- und meisterlieder* S. XLVIII—an error of pagination; read LVIII—Frankfort-am-Main, 1817. 8vo.

tion, appears to have turned two leaves at a time, without discovering his error. This fact, together with a certain number of other inaccuracies in transcription, has led the authors of the Report to believe in a serious corruption of the text, which later investigations fail to establish.

The quotations given by Fauchet and by Keller were the only resource of M. Littré in the preparation of the notice of Guillaume de Dole which appears in the *Histoire littéraire*, XXII, 820-828.

In his edition of "Romanzen und Pastourellen," Bartsch published several of the longer and more complete chansons, including a few that had already been published by MM. Daremberg and Renan. Later, in the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, XI (1870), Bartsch collected all of the remaining unpublished songs and fragments of songs. The subject of these chansons will be recurred to further on.

Various interesting questions concerning the title, subject, authorship, date, sources, etc. of the poem, which call for treatment in this study, will be more clearly raised and more intelligently discussed after the presentation of a summary analysis.

In an introduction of thirty verses the author dedicates his poem to Miles de Nantheuil (of whom later) and asserts his claim to being the first to intercalate chansons in such a work, an invention in which he boasts of having so happily succeeded in making the songs suit the circumstances they are intended to embellish, that they could readily be thought to be of his own composition. In the present analysis no attempt will be made to indicate these frequently recurring intercalations, which lend so graceful a charm and so pleasing a variety to the simple narrative which follows:

There reigned long ago in Germany an Emperor Conrad, endowed with every royal grace and every manly virtue. Never, since the famous siege of Troy, has there been seen his equal in courtesy, gallantry, prowess and honor. It was often his wont to invite from far and near the lords and ladies of his realm to join him in the pleasures of the chase, and in all the festivities naturally attending such a sport. The old and the poor as well, in their turn, are made the objects of his munificent generosity. One only anxiety troubles the hearts of his loyal subjects; it is the fear lest he who had gained them 'maint jor maint grant honor,' but who is still unmarried, may die without

leaving an heir and successor to his throne. Often, but in vain, the great vassals of the empire exhort him to lay this case to heart. The Emperor responds to their importunities only by inaugurating new sports in field and forest. (31-617).

Now it happened that the Count of Guerre (Gueldre) and the Duke of Bavaria were at war, nor would the latter, for indemnity or entreaty, grant a truce. The Emperor repairs to the scene of hostilities, "appeases" the parties, and induces the Duke (not without difficulty) to give the Count the kiss of conciliation. Peace is thus restored, and Conrad sets out to return to one of his castles on the Rhine. One afternoon, as the day grows sultry, the Emperor begins to suffer drowsiness from the heat and fatigues of the way. In order to arouse and refresh himself, he sends for Juglet, his wise and witty "vieleor." Rallying him for being so chary of his company, the Emperor throws an arm about his neck, and begs him for a story. Juglet relates of a certain valiant and love-stricken knight of Champagne whose merits and beauty he so highly praises that Conrad is fain to interrupt him with the exclamation, "Would that it might cost me five hundred marks, and the burning of my castle this very night, if only I could meet with such another knight as he. But say on, Juglet, for if the lady were as charming as the knight was valiant, that were a marvel indeed!" "*Mult preux* was the knight, replies Juglet, but all that is nothing compared to the lady's beauty,"—whose description he proceeds to give at length. At its close the Emperor declares that, as for the knight, if he were well assured that such a one existed in France, not a day should pass without his summoning him to court. But as for the lady, he has not a word to say. He expects to die without having had such a friend, for her like is surely not to be found within his realms. "*Vos dites merveille*," rejoins Juglet, "I myself know a brother and sister who, between them, more than answer all the conditions." Conrad continues his inquiries, and learns that the knight in question is called Guillaume de Dole, and his sister Lienor—a name which love stamps as with a stencil on his heart. The decision is at once reached to despatch a messenger for Guillaume the next morning. (618-849).

Meanwhile the Emperor and his suite have arrived at the Royal Castle. Dinner ended, Conrad retires, and the guests disperse, while Juglet summons to the Emperor's bedside a

"clerc," who is provided with ink, parchment and all necessary articles, and the letter of invitation is duly indited. The next morning the messenger, Nicole, is off for Dole, where in less than eight days he arrives. After refreshing himself at the inn, he repairs to Guillaume's manor, to deliver the letter and an accompanying oral message. This mission he accomplishes with the most becoming grace, in the presence of a company of knights, recently returned from a tournament at Rougemont, whom he finds Guillaume entertaining in the great hall. Before breaking the golden seal, Guillaume carries the letter to his mother's room, in order to open it in her presence. The seal he gives to his sister Lienor for a brooch. "Now I have good reason to congratulate myself," she responds, "since I am presented with a king." It is promptly decided, in family council, that Guillaume shall accept the royal invitation, and he then leaves his mother and sister to join his guests at dinner. Guillaume loses no time in announcing to his companion knights that he had hoped to spend a week with them in the chase, but that now he must set off to-morrow for the Court. After the repast he again retires to consult with his mother as to the companions he will take with him on his important visit. The choice of two being made, he sends for them and bids them prepare to depart with him on the morrow. (850-1102).

Not till now does Guillaume present to his mother and sister the royal messenger. Be well assured that this introduction was no ordinary favor, for such uncommon beauty their unexpected guest had never seen before. After directing Nicole's attention to the needlework on which his mother is engaged and having praised her skill and industry, Guillaume requests her to sing for them, to which she graciously accedes. The sister's turn follows, and only when Lienor has sung a second song does her brother consider her acquitted. For the honor of Guillaume and the love of the Emperor, the mother bestows on the delighted Nicole an *aumônière*, and the daughter presents him with a brooch; then Guillaume and he return to the great hall, where a handsome supper is awaiting them. (1102-1269).

The next morning, many are the tears shed at parting.—On the last day of their journey to court, Nicole and one of the knights pass on ahead, to arrange for Guillaume's arrival. Before going to the Castle, Nicole stops in the market to engage lodgings with a bourgeois, and sends back word to Guill-

•

laume, who arrives close behind. Meanwhile Nicole presents himself before the Emperor, to whose many questions he replies, while Juglet hurries off to find and welcome his friend Guillaume. Calling Nicole apart, the Emperor inquires of him if he has also seen Guillaume's sister, "Hush!" replies Nicole, "say no more, for no man, unless he have confessed, should venture to speak of such a marvel. For beauty and simplicity she is without a peer; nay rather, Belle Lienor surpasses all others as gold excels all the other metals in the world." "It seems," rejoins the Emperor, "that she does no discredit to her beautiful name; and what have you to tell me of her brother?" "He is all that is bravest and best, replies Nicole.—"Go quickly and see that he has all that he desires at his hotel; I shall have no comfort till he comes." (1270-1437).

Meanwhile Juglet has found his friend Guillaume, who is indebted to him for this happy honor of an invitation to Court. Their greeting is joyous, and Juglet explains the meaning of the unexpected summons from the Emperor, and all the circumstances leading up to it. Luncheon, to which the host, the hostess, and their pretty daughter are invited, is served to Guillaume and Juglet at the hotel, before starting out for the Castle. And upon their arrival there, to make the story short, never since Paris of Troy, was knight received at emperor's court with so much joy and honor. "*Biaus amis*," is the Emperor's greeting "*m'lt ai desirre voz solaz*; twenty days have I been waiting your coming." Hand in hand they move to the "dais," and the others follow two by two. Conrad wishes to seat the gentle knight at his side, but with becoming modesty, the latter and his companions take their places a little lower down. The conversation is now turned by Juglet upon an approaching tournament, to be held in a fortnight at Sainteron. Guillaume at once proposes to Juglet that they attend it, adding that he has all the necessary armor, with the exception of the helmet; he has lost his at the Rougemont tournament. "Then you shall have the best in all Germany," remarks the Emperor. Forthwith his chamberlain Baudoin is sent to fetch a magnificent helmet of Senlis make, studded with precious stones, whose price would build a tower. After the helmet has been graciously accepted and praised by the proud recipient, the table is set and dinner served. The conversation still runs upon the tournament, but while the rest boast of their prospective feats, Guill-

aume confirms the Emperor's esteem by guarding a modest and prudent silence, (1438-1728).

The report ended, the *ménétriers* make their appearance. Some sing, and others relate. Roncesvaux and Perceval are the themes of their song and recitation. And when conversation follows in its turn, Guillaume shows that this is an accomplishment in which he can easily hold his own with the courtly barons, and now, without a word, the Emperor takes him by the hand and conducts him aside—but not to listen to the story of Charlemagne.

Ainz s'en vont en .i. lit seoir
 Ou il gastent pres tot le soir
 En demander de ses noveles;
 Celes qui plus li fussent beles
 N'osa il onques amentoiure,
 Por ce qu'il doute l'aperçoiure
 De lui et de ses compegnons.
 Et Jougles lor a dit chançons
 Et fabliaus ne sai .iii. ou .iiij.

As the party is breaking up, the Emperor exclaims, "It is good to drink after singing." So the '*eschansons*' are summoned, and after the King the brother of Belle Lienor is the first to quaff. Who drank last even the author does not know, but Guillaume's two companions do not forget to remind Juglet of a promise he has given the hostess' daughter to return and sing for her. Accordingly he accompanies the party with his "viele," Baudoin also carrying the helmet. So they come to their lodging, torches are lighted, the Belle Aaliz is found, mother and daughter accompany the jolly party to their apartments, and there fruit and wine are served in plenty. Till nearly midnight the company sing and entertain themselves. When Baudoin, the chamberlain, is about to take his leave, the gentle Guillaume presents him with a 'sorcot' of finest quality, and then gives a 'chape' to the host and an ermine robe to Juglet; last of all he presents a *fermail* to the worthy hostess, and then a parting song is sung by the hostess' daughter to Juglet's accompaniment on the *viele*.

Putting on the "sorcot" to do honor to the giver, Baudoin repairs forthwith to the Emperor, who is already in bed. The latter's first question is, "Baudoin, who gave you such a sorcot?" "One," replies the chamberlain, "who has no wish to lend on usury. Never was there so generous a being. Since

I left you he has given away in dress and jewels the value of a hundred pounds. At this rate he will soon be rid of his fortune."—"Never fear," said the Emperor, "for he shall have enough." (1729-1879.)

The next morning Conrad bethinks himself of his generous guest. He sends him five hundred livres 'couloigno's' in ready money, and to his two companions two 'destriers de prix' and two silver 'coupes.' At early mass Guillaume meets the Emperor and thanks him. He then dictates three letters: one to his mother, with three hundred pounds of the Emperor's gift for the expenses at home; the second to his companions at Dole, bidding them make all preparations and come without fail to the approaching tournament; and the third to one of his burgher friends at Liège, of whom he orders a full suit of armor for the grand occasion. To pass more pleasantly the fortnight until the tournament, the Emperor decides to go to Trèves. From there Guillaume and many of the Court send on to Sainteron, to engage their lodgings in advance. Guillaume retains quarters for forty knights. He also arranges to disguise himself from the Emperor on the day of the tournament; and sets off ahead, with thirty followers, for Sainteron, where he finds awaiting him the armor he has ordered from Liège. The next day his companions arrive from Dole, and Guillaume learns from them that there is not a brave knight in all the country who is not on his way to Sainteron—among them the Count of Champagne, the Sire of Coucy, Gaucher de Châtillon, and many others. The knights are coming in from all directions, four times as many as one would think could find accommodations in three such towns. The next day Juglet follows, and finds Guillaume already installed in his hostelry. The latter rallies Juglet on his abandonment, and asks who has come with him. "A crowd of Germans," replies Juglet, "who have wearied me to death. I am dying of hunger and thirst."—"Go along with your Germans," retorts Guillaume—but notwithstanding, he orders refreshments for Juglet in haste. (1880-2205).

It is Sunday, and many of the knights, in order to honor the day, have taken a vow not to bear arms, so they saddle their horses and start out for a ride. But no sooner have they passed the gate, than a messenger from the Duke of Louvain brings them word not to go out into the fields, for at the Castle it is the *fête* that night of the good martyr, St. George. There is

nothing for it but to return to the city. There they pass the rest of the afternoon in the pleasures of the table. When night has come on, it seems as if the whole city were in a blaze, so brightly is it illuminated with torches; while the sound of instruments of music is so great, that it would drown the thunder. But, with all the coming and going, Guillaume prefers to remain at his own hotel and to have the others come to him; for he wishes it to appear how great is the joy that reigns there. And so it happened that all the dukes and distinguished personages make their way to him, and entertain themselves in his company with conviviality and music. It was a feast to satisfy even the most affluent of the guests. In order, at length, to break up the company, it is proposed to consider him the most courteous who shall be the first to leave. (2206-2398).

The next morning, after mass and breakfast, an early start is made for the lists, for it is the great day of the tourney. Mounted on the finest palfrey of them all, and followed by a hundred and twenty valets only to carry the lances, Guillaume, with his companion knights, sallies forth. Juglet and others sing upon the road. Guillaume is admired by all the fair damsels along the route, and soon his cavalcade passes before the Emperor, who is stationed on horseback. Notwithstanding the knight's disguise, Conrad soon singles out his favorite guest by the admiration Guillaume excites in all who see him pass. Making his way through the crowd, the Emperor rushes up to Guillaume and throwing his arms about his neck exclaims:

—"Guillaume, par S. Pol
Bien vos estes vers moi celez!"

What greater honor could a knight desire?

The Emperor and the Comte d'Aloz move off together to review the French as they arrive. Guillaume opens the tournament by jousting with a Fleming, whom he unhorses. A second antagonist he takes prisoner, and makes a present of his horse to Juglet. Guillaume then contends in eight jousts, seven of which he wins, and finishes the days exploits by splendid struggles with Michiel de Harnes, and Eudes, Sire de Ronqueroles. In this tournament the Germans highly honor their Emperor, and the French their "Seignorie de France." To crown all, Conrad sends out his seneschals, after its conclusion, with money to redeem the pledges of all those who wish to avail

themselves of so generous an offer. Upon his return to Sain-teron, Guillaume is again the observed of all observers, and at supper he sits down with no less than fifteen prisoners. All night long foreign knights and barons arrive at the hotel in search of their companions, whom they either ransom or provide with hostages. Guillaume makes easy terms with all who come to him, but at the same time sends away his companion knights and valets rich with gains and presents, while he himself returns to court. (2578-2945).

Next morning the Court sets out for Cologne, and the Emperor improves the occasion offered by the journey to open his mind to his still unsuspecting guest. "Come with me, Monseigneur Guillaume, I have something to say to you." They withdraw from the throng of courtiers, and the Emperor continues: "I hear you have a sister who is worthy of high honor."—"None would be more happy than I were she to win it."—

Guill. "Sire," fet il lues, "s'el l'avoit,
Nuls n'en seroit plus liez de moi.

Conrad Fet li rois," "par l'ame de moi,
L'en m'a dit que el est ml't bele
Et si est encore pucele."

Guill. "Sire, certes," fet il, "c'est mon."

Conrad "Dites moi coment el a non,"
(Ha! Dex, por qu'a il or ce dit?
Ja l'a il si ou cuer escrit,
Le non qui n'en puet issir fors).

Guill. "Si a non bele Lienors."

Conrad "Certes," fet l'Empereres frans;—
L'amor en est lors plus plesans
Quant il en oit autrui parler;
Et por ce ne l'osa nomer
Por doutance de l'aperçoiure.

After so felicitous an introduction of the subject, Conrad reveals at length his desire to raise Guillaume's orphan sister to the dignity of empress. At first the modest knight believes the Emperor is only making sport of him; but being reassured, he replies seriously that this alliance cannot be, because all the high nobility would feel aggrieved. He recommends Conrad to sue rather for the King of France, and to give up all thought of the "orfenine" whom he (Guillaume) loves better, for that matter, than any Queen in the world. But Conrad will listen to

no objections, and explains how all difficulties may be overcome. His barons, he remarks, have long besought him to marry, in order to insure an heir to the kingdom. So now he is ready to accomplish their desire. "As soon as we arrive at Cologne," says he, "I will cause letters to be sent to all the barons of Germany, summoning them for the first of May to a parliament at Mayence. On that occasion, I will engage them, before divulging my wish, to grant me beforehand what I am about to ask."

Conrad "Si lor proierai belement
Q'il me doignent entr'aus .i. don,
Par amors et par'guerredon.
Ge sai bien qu'il le me donront ;
Et si tost com il le m'auront
Creanté debonement,
Je ferai par lor sairement
Erroment le don confermer,
Q'il n'en porront arrier aler.
Puis lor dirai tot mon corage,
Que je voeil fere mariage
De moi et de vostre seror,
Que nule n'est si de l'onor
Digne por estre empereriz."

Guill. "Sire," fet il, "c. merciz ;"
"Or voi ge bien que c'est acertes."
Jointes ses mains li a offertes,
Si dit qu'il est a toz iors soens,
Qu'il a et de cuer et de sens
La parole bien devisee,
Puis ont la fin de lor jornee
Usee en deduit et en joie.

Guillaume being thus gained over, and the royal party having arrived at Cologne, the letters to the barons are prepared that very night. (2946-3103).

The Emperor has a noteworthy Seneschal, "qui tenait la terre vers Ais." He had not appeared at court since Guillaume's arrival, but he joins the Emperor at Cologne, where he occupies the highest rank in the royal household. Conrad, nevertheless, continues to pass all his time, whether at home or abroad, in Guillaume's company. As a consequence, the Seneschal

"En ot erroment grant envie :
Il fu toz les iorç de sa vie
Assez plus fel que ne fu Keus.

Il estoit ades ovoec eus
 Por engignier et por deçoiure,
 Savoir s'il peüst aperçoiure
 Por qu'il i a si grant amor.

He succeeds in overhearing their conversation, and in particular one of the songs into which Conrad is betrayed by the state of his feelings, from which he correctly concludes that all this sentimentality is not pure "chivalry," but is to be charged to the account of the stranger's sister. His treacherous plan for separating the two friends and bringing their designs to naught, is soon arranged. Leaving a part of his "gent" at court, he starts out, in all haste, for Dole, commending his excuses to the Emperor with the explanation that he has gone to arrange an affair of business in his own province, and will return without delay. On the way, he plans to ingratiate himself with Lienor, by representing himself as Guillaume's special friend at court, and so he hopes—perhaps only to extract some family secret or other piece of information which he may turn to account in bringing her into trouble. Having presented himself at Guillaume's "fort manoir," he is made most cordially welcome. His hostess, Guillaume's mother, invites him to remain, but he declines, on the ground that he must push on to Besançon, in order to judge a case the next morning. But he would have been ashamed, and Guillaume disappointed, if he had passed so near without stopping to see her. He accepts offered refreshments, and expresses a desire to see Mademoiselle, the sister of his friend. But this pleasure is denied him, the mother explaining that no man can be permitted to see Lienor during the absence of her brother. The Seneschal is disappointed, and prepares to take his leave; but before doing so, he makes use of a final ruse, in presenting the mother with a precious ring. She is so much affected by this mark of favor, as to be drawn into confidential conversation on the subject of her daughter, and so reveals the secret of Lienor's hidden birth-mark.

Ainz qu'en montast por chevauchier
 Le son cheval qu'en tint au soeil,
 Li ot ele dit a conseil
 Tot son estre et son covine,
 Uns beaus dons a mout grant meine,
 Qu'il fit maint mal plet dire et fere,
 Si li a conté tot l'afere
 De la rose desor la cuisse

Jamès nuls hom qui parler puisse
 Ne verra si fete merveille
 Come de la rose vermelle
 Desor la cuisse blanche et tendre.
 Il n'est merveille ne soit mendre
 A oir, ce est nule doute.
 La grant beauté li descript tote,
 Et la maniere de son grant.
 Ml't en est li berres en grant,
 De tot enquerre et encerchier.
 Quant il n'i ot mais qu'empeschier
 Qu'en peüst par reson savoir
 Par oir dire sanz veoir,
 Lors dit a la dame, "il est tart ;"
 La dame lesse, si s'en part,
 Et dit qu'il ert a toz jors soens.
 Chetive vieille, hors dou sens,
 Si mar vit cel jor et cel heure !

The Seneschal returns to Court, bearing with him the fatal secret :

Ci apres vient granz encombriers
 A son hoes et a hoes autrui. (3104-3366).

Upon the Seneschal's return, the Emperor's first thought is to take him into his confidence, as one of the principal officers of the Crown, in regard to the desired marriage. He conducts the Seneschal apart, and broaches to him the subject of matrimony. The Seneschal feigns pleasure at the information, and inquires if he is to form an alliance with the royal house of France, and whether he expects to acquire large accessions of territory by his marriage. "The man" replies Conrad, who procures a wife

"——bonne et sage et bele
 Et de bon lignage et pucele,"

has thereby found a handsome "*dot*." "Such are hardly to be discovered now-a-days," returns the Seneschal. "That may be true in general," is the Emperor's response, but since the person in question possesses all these good qualities combined, why she not as worthy of a kingdom as the daughter of a king? The Seneschal then inquires her name and having learned praises Guillaume freely, and admits that as far as beauty and elegance go, Lienor has certainly no rival. There is only one objection to the marriage, but that is a sufficiently grave one. At this the Emperor loses patience, and accuses the Seneschal

of envy, and of always taking the wrong side. He finally pushes the Seneschal to define his insinuations. The latter boasts, in reply, of what he himself knows, making a treacherous use of the secret confided to him by Lienor's mother, and describing the hidden mark. The cruel effect upon the Emperor can be imagined. He sets out at once with the Court for Mayence, where his low spirits cast a gloom over all about him. Guillaume dares not ask of him the cause of this sudden change. But the Emperor finally sends for him, and discloses to him the Seneschal's story. Guillaume, in turn, when the supposed evidence is produced, is completely broken down by it. He covers his head with his mantle, and flies to his hotel. Conrad also repairs to his palace, and gives way to the keenest regrets. (3367-3761).

One of Guillaume's knights, (who is a nephew of his and who appears now for the first time on the scene) passing before his uncle's lodgings, hears the sounds of lamentations and presents himself before Guillaume, to learn the cause. The latter relates the disgrace that has fallen on them all through the fault of Lienor, who had been destined to be Empress. He knows not how to avenge himself but by his tears. The nephew replies that Lienor is well worthy of death, and that he takes it upon himself to execute the sentence. Guillaume remonstrates, but his nephew, burning to carry out his cruel purpose, sets out for Dole without his knowledge. Guillaume remains shut up in his hotel, and the Emperor, by visiting him in person, does his utmost to render endurable his situation. Meanwhile the nephew arrives at Dole, and alights in the court of the manor. Hurrying past a valet who run out to welcome him, he draws his sword and, crying vengeance, is on the point of entering the house, when he stumbles, falls, and is caught and held fast by two sturdy men-servants. His aunt and Lienor appear, and the former soon learns from him the shameful story. She quickly recognizes her own imprudence, and the treachery of the Seneschal. Overwhelmed with grief, and taking the blame all upon herself, she faints away. But Lienor, by her protestations, succeeds in gaining her cousin's sympathy, and when her mother recovers consciousness, at once bravely promises her that before the month is out she (Lienor) will have dissipated the calumny of which she has been the victim.

Dame, fetes querre chevaus,

S'irai a cort veoir mon frere.
 Onques si prodom com il ere
 Ne morut por si fet damage.
 Li siecles l'a pieça d'usage
 Q'en dit ainz le mal que le bien ;
 Or sachiez de fi une rien :
 Ge m'en reviendrai tote lie,
 Que cil qui reput sa mesnie
 De .v. pains et de .ii. poissons
 Au grant deoil que nos i avons
 Nos i sauvera noz honorz.

She sends for two vavassors, to accompany her. Her cousin, now completely won to her side, aids in the preparations for her departure, and the four set out for the court. (3762-4085).

The barons are beginning to assemble for the parliament of the first of May. The demoiselle arrives also at Mayence, and obtains a suitable lodging with a bourgeoisie of the city. It is the great day of summoning the Parliament. The first question Lienor addresses to her hostess is to know the reason of the great concourse in the street. She learns for the first that the king has summoned a parliament to treat of the question of his marriage. Lienor calls together her little council, but it is only to aid her in the execution of a plan which she has already well matured. Having heard that the Seneschal was in love with the Châtelaine of Dijon, who has hitherto repulsed his advances, she sends to him, through the mediation of a valet, a belt, an *aumônière* and an emerald ring. These are represented as coming from the Châtelaine, who regrets having been so long obdurate to his entreaties, and who begs him, if he wishes to win her favor, to put on and wear, underneath his clothing, the belt she sends him. The valet finds the Seneschal at the Parliament, conducts him apart, and acquits himself perfectly of his delicate mission. The happy Seneschal makes haste to follow the directions he has received, and returns to the Parliament. During the absence of the valet, Lienor arrays herself in the most exquisite of attires, and upon his return, having learned of the success of her measure with the Seneschal, she mounts on horseback, and, accompanied by her knights, proceeds to the palace. There, in solemn conclave with his barons, sits the Emperor, while, in an adjoining apartment are heard the songs and lays of the minstrels. In his embarrassment and melancholy the Emperor is at a loss which way to turn, when

suddenly appears the Sire of Nivèle, who announces the arrival in the palace court of so wonderful a beauty that it would be difficult to say whether she were "fée ou femme." The Emperor, who is glad of any excuse to break up the Parliament, rises and leads the way, in order to judge for himself of this unexpected apparition. Lienor falls at his feet and refuses to rise until he shall have promised to repair her wrong. This condition is quickly granted. Conrad lifts the maiden to her feet, and then and there in the presence of all the barons of the realm, she begins her sorrowful plea. (4086-4745):

"Gentils Emperere honorez
 "Por Deu, biau sire, or m'entendez :
 "Si m'aït Dex, que mestiers m'est,
 "Il fu .i. jors qui passez est,
 "Que cil là vostres seneschaus,
 "(Lors le mostre as emperiaus)
 "Vint en .i. lieu par aventure
 "Ou ge fesoie ma cousture,
 "Si me fist ml't let et outrage,
 "Qu'il me toli mon pucelage,
 "Et apres cele grant ledure,
 "Si m'a tolue ma ceinture,
 "Et m'aumosniere et mon fermail.
 "Ice demant au seneschal,
 "Et m'onor et mon pucelage.
 Atant se test, si ne dit mot.
 L'emperere qui mot l'amout
 Si resgarde le seneschal
 Qui tot ce ne prisoit .i. ail,
 Ainz le tient a borde et a songe
 Com ce qui tot estoit mençonge;
 Ce savoit ele plus que nus,
 Fet l'emperere, "il n'i a plus ;
 "Seneschal, or vos en alez
 "Conseiller, ou vos responez
 "Orendroit ci selonc son claim ;
 "Onques mes voir n'oi reclaim
 "Que vos feïssiez tel outrage.
 Fet il, oiant tot son barnage :

Sen. "Je n'en irai ja a conseil,
 "Jamès Dex ne me doint cest sueil
 "Passer, se onques mes la vi,
 "Et sachiez bien que ge le ni,
 "Que onques n'oi son pucelage,
 "Ne ses joiaus a son damage

Nus d'iax n'avoit oï parler.
 Li oeil en pristrent a l'armer
 A l'empereor de pitié,
 Por ce qu'il l'avoit sanz fautié
 Ml't bien servi et longuement.

Emp. "Segnor, n'en doutez de noient"
 Fet l'empereres, "mes sachiez,
 "Miex vousisse estre alez nuz piez
 "Outremer, qu'il fust avenu
 "Ce por qu'il estoient venu.

Barons Li distrent a cors moz briement
 "Qu'ele par son enchantement
 "Li tresgeta cele ceinture,
 "Et tant en est de tel feture
 "Que en en troeue par tot assez.
 "Si ne seroit pas vostre sez
 "Que por ce le deffeissiez.
 "Si vos prions que souffrissiez
 "Dou premier ni qu'il fist orains,
 "Qu'il onques ne devant ne ains
 "Fors cest ior ne l'avoit veüe
 "Ne n'atoucha a sa char nue
 "Dont ele fust pas empirie.
 "Si seroit la chose esclairie
 "S'il s'en espurjoit par juise
 "En guerredon de son servise.
 "Ice vos prie & nos por lui."

Emp. "Ge nel feroie por nului
 "Se n'estoit por la demoisele."
 Tuit l'en vont lors au pié que ele
 Et por Deu et por auls en face
 Tant qu'il ait lor cuer et lor grace.
 Tuit l'en tendent les mains amont:

Barons "Ha! dame, mal fet qui confont
 "Ce dont il puet estre au deseure."
 Tant li prient et corent seure
 Qu'el lor otroie bonement
 Et prie Deu si fetement
 Com el n'i a deservi perte
 Qu'il i face miracle aperte;
 Par laienz dient tuit *amen*.
 L'empereres ml't durement
 S'en esjoï de cest otroi
 Et tuit li compegnon le roi.
 Puis n'i ot onques point d'arrest.
 Li juises fu lues tot prest
 Au moustier mon segnor .S. Pierre,

Qui ert couerz de fuelle d'ierre.
Tuit i viennent prince et demaine
Et li seneschaus qu'en amaine.
Et la pucele vint ouoeques,
Par le conseil de l'arcevesques,
Por veoir la bone droiture.
A grant honte par sa ceinture
Fu li seneshaus esgardez.
Lues droit qu'il fu laenz entrez
S'en vet au fons trestoz li cors,
Si que la bele Lienors
Vit qu'il fu sauz, et tuit li autre
Qui furent d'une part et d'autre
Entor la cuve atropelé.
Li clerc en ont ml't Deu loé
En lor chanz et en sains sonez.
A grant ioie fu remenez
Devant l'empereor arriere,
Qui s'en est d'estrangle meniere
Esjoiz et trestuit li autre.
La pucele triez .i. triez autre
Si est au palès reuenue
Ml't est bien la chose auenue
Si com el l'auoit proposee.
El ne s'est nes point reposee,
Ainz vet devant l'empereor
Qui est liez de le grant honor
Que Dex a au seneschal fete.
A ce que chascuns se reheté,
Sachiez ne pensoit ele point,
Mes a la dolor qui la point
Au cuer, por l'amor son biau frere.

Emp. "Damoisele," fet l'emperere,
"Or est li seneschaus delivres."

Lien. "Cil dont li clerc chantent es livres"
Fet la gentils, la debonaire,
"Set bien tels cortoisies fere,
"Et aidier ciaux qui a bien tendent.
"Or proiez voz genz qu'il m'entendent.
"Por Deu, Sire, oiez la parclose:
"Je sui la Pucele a la Rose,
"La suer a mon segnor Guillaume,
"Qui l'onor de vostre royaume
"M'auoit quise par sa proece
(A ce dire ot ml't grant destrece
Que toz li vis li cort de larmes.)
"Et cil qui soit de males armes

" Despeciez, si que ge le voie,
 " Si fist au Plessié une voie
 " Par qu'il deçut ma bone mere,
 " Qui li dit tot coment il ere
 " De la rose desur ma cuisse.
 " Biau Sire Dex ! ausi en puisse
 " Ge cest ior venir au deseure,
 " Qu'encor nel savoit a cele heure
 " Que mon frere et ma mere et gie.
 " N'est merveille se ge marvie
 " Qui vos racont ici ma honte.

Barons " Biaux Sire Dex ! " font donc cil comte.
 Tex i ot cui mout en pesa.

Lien. " Mervelle fist qui ce pensa
 " De fere teuls desloiautez.
 " Si vint li desloiaus prouez
 " Qui onques n'ama mon lignage
 " Si vos a dit par son outrage
 " Que je n'estoie pas pucele.
 " Cil qui fist mere de s'ancele
 " Si m'en a auques delivree,
 " G'en serai voir tote honoree
 " Se Deu plect, ainz que ge m'en aille,
 " Se vostre cort ne me fet faille ;
 " Car quant il nia ma ceinture,
 " S'en li eüst lors fet droiture,
 " Quant il en fu trovez sesiz,
 " Il fust lues penduz et honiz,
 " Com cil qui toz estoit jugiez.
 " Mes as barons en prist pitié,
 " Qui firent tant par lor proiere
 " Que toz li ples revint arriere.
 " A ce qu'il ot nié et dit
 " Qu'il onques mes ior ne me vit
 " Ne ne me fist descovenue
 " Par qui honte me soit creüe,
 " Si m'aît Dex, ce ne fist mon.
 " Ce ont bien veü li baron
 " Que li juisés l'en sauva,
 " Et moi et lui ; et qu'il ne m'a
 " Despucelee ne honie.
 " Se l'onor et la segnorie
 " De cest regne m'est destinee,
 " Ceste lasse, ceste exploree,
 " Quant ele fet n'a la deserte
 " Por quel reson i aura perte ?
 " De ce demant a la cort droit."

Lors dit l'empereres lues droit :

Emp. "Estes vos ce, mes cuers, m'amie?"

Lors dit cele, "n'en doutez mie.

"Ce sui ge, bele Lienors."

Il saut sus, voiant ses genz lors,

Si l'acole en sa bele brace,

Les biaux oils, le vis, et la face

Li a plus de .c. foiz besiee.

Fet il, "Or soiez envoisiee,

"Que grant honor vos a Dex fete."

De la joie qui l'en reheté

Li est ciz chans dou cuer volez :

Que demandez vos

Quant vos m'avez?

Que demandez vos?

Dont ne m'avez vos?

— Ge ne demant rien,

Se vos m'amez bien.

Et li autre en ont tuit chanté :

Tendez tuit voz mains

A la flor d'esté,

A la flor de liz,

Por Deu, tendez i.

(4746—5085.)

Now, exclaims the emperor, my reason for summoning the Parliament is revealed. You have long wished me to marry. This then is she to whom, with your approval, I have destined the honor of my throne. All hasten to give their adhesion. Guillaume, who is languishing at his hotel, is sent for with all speed. On his entry, Lienor is seated at the Emperor's side. Guillaume approaches her, and kneeling, as before his new sovereign, salutes her

Lien. "Mes biaux freres, mes cuers, mes douz,"

Fet ele, "bien soiez venuz."

Il puet ml't bien a tels saluz

Aucune lerne avoir ploreé.

Since all the high nobility are present, it is agreed, instead of summoning them again from their estates after a delay, to proceed at once to the marriage. Court ladies are sent for to dress Lienor for the wedding. The barons conduct her to the "moustier," and there the Archbishop of Rheims marries her to the Emperor Conrad, closing with the coronation ceremony. Next day, the Emperor being in the best of humor, all the barons resort to him, to crave indulgence for the Seneschal. Conrad remains inflexible, but the barons throw themselves at

his feet and beg permission to carry their case to the Empress. Conrad yields, and the barons obtain Lienor's consent to the Seneschal's joining the Templars, on condition of his quitting forever the territory of Germany and of France. This solution is extremely welcome to the courtiers, who return to obtain its ratification from the Emperor. Conrad commands that the Seneschal appear before him wearing the insignia of a Crusader. The Seneschal humbly returns thanks to the Empress for her clemency, and departs.

Puis voudrent le congié auoir
 Li baron, de l'empereriz.
 A cours moz et par ml't biau diz
 Lor dona debonairement
 Et l'empereres ensement ;
 Puis departi la cours einsi
 Et ralerent en lor pais,
 Ou chascuns ot assez a fere.
 Mout est li siecles de mal aire
 Que tote ioie fine en doel :
 Ja ne queissent mes lor voel
 Departir, mes il le couint.
 L'empereres et barons ·XX·
 Remesent o l'empereriz.
 Ml't amez et ml't segnoriz
 Est li bons Guillaume, ses freres.
 L'empereres fist de sa mere
 Mout grant ioie quant ele vint.
 L'empereres bien la maintint
 Dedenz la cité de Maience.
 L'arceuesques par reverence
 En fist en escrit l'estoire ;
 Bien le deuroient en memoire
 Avoir et li roi et li conte,
 Cel prodome dont en lor conte,
 Por avoir de bien fere envie,
 Ausi com cil fist en sa vie
 Por cui l'en chante et chantera
 Tant com li siecles durera,
 Qui ne finira mie encore.
 Et cil se veut reposer oré
 Qui le ior perdi son sornon
 Qu'il entra en religion. (5624).

Explicit li Romans de la Rose.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The central features of the plot of Guillaume de Dole are (1) the *hidden birthmark* of the heroine, and (2) the treachery of the *mauvais sénéchal*. The feature of the hidden birthmark connects this poem evidently with the stories grouped under chapter lxviii. of F. H. von der Hagen's *Gesamtablauteur*, iii. Band (Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1850), entitled "Zwei Kaufmänner und die treue Hausfrau, von Ruprecht von Würzburg." Von der Hagen says of the motive of the group of tales in question, that "sie geht noch tief ins Morgenland nach Indien zurück, und wie sie dort mit der heimischen Göttersage verwachsen, hat selbst im Christlichen Abendlande noch die Römisch-Keltische und Griechisch Mythologie an ihr gehaftet. Auf Verherrlichung und Erniedrigung ist es auch hier angelegt, jedoch in der eigenen Fassung, dass Frauenlob oder Verunglimpfung, oder beides, eine Wette, Versuchung der Frauentreue, hervorrufen, deren Wahrzeichen der scheinbar Schuldigen Schmach und Tod drohen, bis sie glänzend gerechtfertigt wird."—Note here, under a striking general similarity, the important absence, in *Dole*, of the *wager*, and of any temptation or probation of the heroine. At this point the divergence is almost complete, as will appear from further quotation:

"Die Männer sind theils unbestimmt, meist Kaufleute, dann Baumeister, Krieger, Ritter, Köche; eigentlich zwei, dabei noch zwei Andere, oder auch Viere, als Zeugen oder Mitwettende, Versuchende, zu welchen der die seine Preisende der Dritte oder Fünfte ist. Sie sind Landleute oder vertreten mehrere Völker. Die Schöne ist Ehefrau, *Geliebte*, *Schwester*."—In *Dole* both the latter at the same time. "Ein altes Weib ist meist Vermittlerin, bei der Kiste oder im Bade."—In *Dole*, the Mother takes the place of the "altes Weib," and both chest and bath are dispensed with;—"Oder bei der Täuschung durch Verkleiden, eine auch zwei Mägde, oder ein Schlaftrunk bewirkt die Täuschung. Wahrzeichen ist stäts blühende Blume, rein bleibendes Hemd, Bildniss, *blumenähnliches Muttermal*, Warze; an der Brust, am Arme,"—in *Dole* and its apparent prototype, *Le Roi Flore*, on the thigh; "daneben, oder für sich, abgeschnittener Finger, Haarlocke, Ring, Armband, Gürtel, Börse, Rock"—some of these latter employed, in *Dole*, to inculcate the Seneschal. "Dagagen zeugen der Hunds Fuss des

Sklavenbrandmals, die unverletzte Hand und Haar, oder die ganze verschiedene Gestalt (der Verkleideten). Die nicht durchgängige Verurtheilung und Rettung der Unschuldigen bezeugen blutiges Tuch, Augen, Zunge, vom Lamm oder Hunde, und führt sie in Mannstracht, zu mancherlei Abenteuren und Ehren, auch tapferen Thaten bei fremden Fürsten, ja unerkannt zu Diensten des geliebten Mannes,"—nothing of all this in *Dole*. "Die Wiedervereinigung der Gelieben, und *Enthüllung der Bosheit durch Gottesurtel*, Zeichen, Bekenntniss, beschliesst harte Todesstrafe, oder Geldbusse, Leibeigenschaft, Verheirathung mit der Magd,"—in *Dole* the sentence is commuted to banishment.

Von der Hagen finds the earliest traces of this varied and widely ramified tale "in der grossen *Kaschmirschen* Sammlung, *Meer der Sagenströme* von Soma Deva im 12. Jh.," and later "in der *persischen* Erzählung des die Frauentreue hütenden *Papageis*." But apparently the earliest form of the story with which the poem of Guillaume de Dole is intimately connected, is the prose romance, in French, of the *Roi Flores et la bielle Jehane* (Bibl. Nat. fonds fr. 24,430, fol. 169–175.—'Le roman dou roi Flore et de la bielle Jehane; publ. pour la premiere fois d'après un Ms. de la bibl. roy. par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1838.—Also in Monmerqué & Michel's "Théâtre Français au Moyen Age," 1839, pp. 417–30). The brief analysis of this tale, given by Michel in his introduction to the *Roman de la Violette*, of which poem it will be necessary to speak presently, affords scarcely a hint of the numerous points of resemblance between the *Roi Flore* and *Guillaume de Dole*. I have found it interesting to quote a number of passages from the *Roi Flore*, which would seem to indicate that the author of *Dole* drew several of his situations either from this or another closely related version. The *Roi Flore* begins as follows:—(Monmerqué: Théâtre fr. p. 417).

En ceste partie dist li contes d'un roi ki ot à non li rois Flores d'Ausai [Alsace?] Il fu molt boins chevaliers et gentius hom de haut lignage. Cis rois Flores d'Ausai prist à femme le fille au prinche de Braibant * * * * * Ses sires, li rois Flores, aloit souvent as tourmois et en Alemagne et en Franche et en mains païs là ù il les savoit, cant il estoit sans guere, et i fasoit molt grans despens et molt de s'onneur.

Or lait li contes à parler de lui, et parolle d'un chevalier k'

manoit en la marche de Flandres et de Hainnau. Chil chevaliers fu molt preus et molt hardis et molt seurs, et ot à femme une molt bielle fille, ki avoit à non Jehane, et estoit en l'eage de .XII. ans. * * * * *

Ne demora gaires ke li chevaliers mut à aler à .i. tournoient loing de son païs. Cant il vint là si fu tos retenus de maisnie, il et si chevalier k'il avoit de mesnie; et fu sa baniere portée à l'ostel son mestre. Li tournois coumencha, et le fist li chevaliers si bien par le bien fait Robin son eskuier, ke il emporta le los et le pris dou tournoi d'une part et d'autre. Au secont jour s'esmut li chevaliers à aler vers son païs, et Robins le mist à raison molt de fois et li blasma molt k'il ne mariot pas sa bielle fille. * * * * * "Robin, dist li chevaliers, * * * te di ke je me loc molt de toi; et por çou te donrai-ge ma bielle fille, se tu le veus prendre. — Ha, sire! dist Robins, por Dieu mierchi! ke es-çou ke vous dites? * * * * * espoir vous me mokiés.—Robin, dist li chevaliers, saces certainement, n'au fac.—Ha sire! ma dame ne ses grans linages ne s'i voroient mie acorder.—Robin, dist li chevaliers, riens de ceste chose ne feroie pour aus tous. Tien, vés chi mont gant; je te raviesc de .cccc. livrées de tiere, et le te garandirai par tout.—Sire, dist Robins, je ne le refuserai mie, cest biaux dons, puis ke je voi ke c'est à ciertes.—Robin, dist li chevaliers, tu as droit." Li chevaliers li balla son gant, et le raviesti de la tiere et de sa bielle fille."

Robert is duly married to the "bielle Jehane." His friend Raoul makes a wager with him that he will render him "coux" during his absence on a proposed pilgrimage. In this attempt Raoul fails; but he has succeeded through the connivance of "une vielle," in seeing Jehane in her bath. Robert returns from his pilgrimage.

Au matin fu grans la fieste et fu li mengiers aparelliés, si mengierent. Quant vint apries disner, si mist mesire Raous à raison monseigneur Robiert et li dist ke il avoit gaegnié sa tiere: car il avoit connute sa feme karnelement, à toutes ces enseignes ke elle a une noire enseigne *en sa diestre cuise* et .i. porion priès de son guiel. "Ce ne sai-je mie, dist mesire Robiers, car ge n'i ai mie regardé si de priès."—"Or vous di-ge dont, fait mesire Raous, sour le fianche ke vous m'aves donnée, ke vous i prendés garde et me facies droit."—Si ferai-jou, dist mesire Robiers, vraiment. "Cant vint à la nuit, mesire Robiers jua

à sa femme, et trouva et vit en sa diestre cuise le tace noire et le porion auques priès de son biel juiiel; et cant il sot çou, si fu molt dolans. * * * * * Li se mist au chemin vers Paris.

* * * * * Molt fu la bielle dame dolante. * * * Molt pensa por coi c'estoit, si plora et fist grant deul et tant ke ses peres vint à li et li d'ist k'il amast mius ke elle fust enchore à marier, car elle li avoit fait honte et tous ceus de son linage; et li conta comment et pour coi. Cant elle oi çou, si fu trop dolante et nia trop drument le fait; mais riens ne valu, car on set bien ke renommée est si enviers toutes femmes ke se une fame s' ardoit toute, ne seroit-elle mie creue d'un tel mesfait cant on [le?] li a mis sus.

La nuit, au premier somme, se leva la dame et prist tous ses deniers ke elle avoit en ses chofres, et prist un ronci et une houe, et se mist au chemin; et avoit fait choper ses bielles traices, et fu autresi atirés com uns eskuiiers. Et esra tant par ses journées k'elle vint a Paris. * * * * *

Chi endroit dist li contes ke tant tint mesure Raous la tiere monsegneur Robiert sans droite cause plus de .vii. ans. Si li prist une grans maladie * * * * * A grant mesaise fu dou pecié, ki estoit si grans ke il ne s'en osoit confieser. .J. jour avint ke il fu trop destrois de sa maladie: il manda son kapelain. Li dist k'il deist hardiement * * * tant ke mesure Raoul li conta tout ensi ke vous avés devant oï. * * * "Sire, dist-il, *vous prendrés la crois d'outre-mer.*" * * * * * Or dist li contes ke molt mena bonne vie li rois Flores d'Ausai et sa feme, comme giovane gent ki molt s'entr'amoient: mais molt furent dolant et courecié de çou ke il ne porent avoir nul enfant * * * Et li baron de la tiere et dou païs vinrent au roi Flore et li disent k'il renvoiaist sa feme, et li dirent k'il em preist .i. ne autre puis k'il n'en puet avoir nul enfant; et s'il ne fasoient [*read* fasoit] lor conseil, il iroient abiter aleurs; car en nulle fin il ne voroient ke li roiaumes demorast sans oir."

The parallelism here ceases, with the exception of the final rectification. Jehane, still in disguise and unrecognized by her husband, becomes his esquire. They journey together to Marseille, where Jehane makes their fortune, first by her skill in baking French bread, and later by keeping a public inn. Here they entertain Raoul on his way to and from the Holy Sepulchre. Without recognizing Jehane, Raoul relates to her the motive of his journey, but, by a curious perversity, the author

turns this disclosure to no account whatever, in the application of poetical justice at the close. Robert and his esquires return rich to their former home, where Robert regains his lands only after a hard-fought single combat with Raoul, in which the latter confesses the deception of which he had been guilty. The innocence of Jehane being thus established, she reveals herself, and lives for many years afterwards happily with her husband. After his death she is sought in marriage by the Roi Flôre, to whom she bears two children: Florens, who becomes emperor of Constantinople, and Florie, who marries a son of the King of Hungary.

We have here not only the birth-mark "sor la cuisse," the intervention of the barons with the King to secure an heir to the realm, and the expiatory journey of the guilty nobleman to the Holy Land, but also the secondary but carefully worked out scene of the preliminary conversation leading up to the marriage. In each case, the return journey from a happily contested tournament is made the occasion for the discussion and arrangement of the marriage of the heroine under strikingly similar conditions in the management of the dialogue.

Still other interesting parallels, of which a mention may conveniently be inserted here, are offered by a Modern Greek folk-song cited by von der Hagen as coming, through Bartoldy, (*Bruchstücke zur Kenntniss Griechenlands*, Berlin 1805, s. 430-440) from the lips of an old fisherman *Andreas* in the bay of Arta: "Beim Königsmaie wo Frauen gepriesen werden, erhebt Maurogen (Schwarzbart) seine *blondlockige Schwester* über alle, und reizt dadurch den König so, dass er zwölf Maulthiere mit Kostbarkeiten zu ihr sendet, für eine Nacht, nachdem ihr Bruder sein Haupt verwettet hat, dass kein Reichthum sie gewinnen könne. Ihre Amme nimmt pflichtgetreu ihre Stelle ein, und verliert auch den Finger mit dem Ringe, zugleich noch eine Haarflechte mit Goldband. Maurogen widerspricht diesen Zeugnissen nicht; und wird zur Hinrichtung geführt: da *erscheint die schöne Schwester*, und bewährt sich durch ihre vollständige Hand und Goldlocken, und erklärt den König für ihren Knecht, weil er bei ihrer Magd gelegen. Das Volk stürzt den König und ruft sie zur Königin aus.

Before seeking to establish the relations of two other stories of this group, viz., the *Roman de la Violette* and the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*, to *Guillaume de Dole* and to each other, it

will be of advantage to consider briefly the rôle of the "mauvais sénéchal" as a characteristic feature of *Dole*, in which the jealousy and treachery of the Steward take the place of the wager which so invariably plays its part elsewhere.

In a late volume of the *Histoire Littéraire* (xxviii, p. 141), M. Paulin Parts, in analysing the poem of *Floriant et Florete*, makes this remark: "Le récit commence, avant la naissance du héros. Elyadus, roi de Sicile, avait un sénéchal, *traître comme la plupart des sénéchaux dans nos gestes et nos romans*."

I have not yet been able to trace the history of the "sénéchal," good or bad, through the "Chansons de Geste," but somewhat careful researches among the "Romans" have brought me upon only a few examples of the sénéchal. In the poem of *La Manekine*, a sénéchal is charged to burn Joïe, the heroine. Again, "Richard 1^{er} pour reprocher à ses barons l'ingratitude qui leur faisait oublier la terre sainte, les comparait au *mauvais sénéchal* tiré de la fosse par le bûcheron, et moins reconnaissant pour son libérateur que le lion, l'abeille et même le serpent. * * * * * La fable de l'oiselet et celle du mauvais sénéchal sont comprises dans le recueil qu'on attribue à l'Indien Bidpai," *Hist. litt.* xxiii, 77. [cf. "Bidpay. Calila et Dimna, ou fables de Bidpay," &c., par M. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1816 in-4°]

But these cases are scarcely to the point. On the other hand, in *Ille et Galeron*, by Gautier d'Arras, Ille is made Sénéchal of the Empire, but refuses to marry the Emperor's daughter, in order to remain faithful to his wife, of whom, moreover, he has for a long time had no news.

In the poem of *Meraugis de Porlesgues* (édition de Miché-
lant, p. 170) a sénéchal is incidentally introduced:

" Et Enchises li seneschaus
Qui mult estoit prouz et loyaus ; "

while in the second part of the *Comte de Poitiers*, Guy, son of that count, becomes the faithful sénéchal of the emperor of Rome.

In a single instance, however, I have succeeded in discovering the rôle of a sénéchal whose treachery bears a striking resemblance to that of the sénéchal in *Dole*. This rôle is found in the Anglo-Norman poem of *Guy de Warwike*, (which I believe to be unpublished,³) contained in the MS. fonds fr. 1669,

³ An early translation, entitled "Guy of Warwike" has been published (1875) by the Early English Text Society.

Bibl. Nat. [Analysed Hist. litt., xxii.] One or two passages, quoted at length, will illustrate the close relationship subsisting between the seneschals in the two poems. (The MS. is crabbed and difficult, fairly bristling with abbreviations, and the text corrupt. Most of the abbreviations have been resolved, but no attempt has been made to emend the text.)

(fol. 17^d) A tant e vus le senescal
 Ki ml't est faus ne ne leal.
 "Guy," fet il, "ml't vus pusse amer;
 "En mun quer vus ai cher.
 "Riche tors ay e chateus
 "Ky ml't sunt bels.
 "Ben voil ke sunt a vostre pleisir,
 "L'amor de vus ml't desir.
 "Dedure, sire, kar aluns
 "A chambre, si enveisuns
 "A tables e a ches iuer.
 "Oen! nus porruns enveyser
 "De Laurette la pucele,
 "Nostre amy ki est bel.
 "Sire," fet Guy, "kar aluns;
 "Quant il plet vus, fere le poroumes."
 A chambres dreit sumus [*sic*] alés,
 Mein en mein sunt entrés;
 Venu sunt a la pucele
 Ki ensement les empele :
 "Sire Guy," fet el, "ben venes,
 "Venes, sire, si enveises."
 Guy la prit si la beisa;
 Par grant amors a ly parla,
 Pus unt les ches demandé;
 Devant la pucele unt jué.
 Assis en unt la primer ju,
 Mes le senescal ad tut perdu.
 Pus unt un autre commencé
 E Guy l' ad hastiment gayné
 E le terce tut ensement.
 Dunt est le senescal dolent
 E grant haye s'en ert leué,
 Car corus est e yré

Sen. "Sire Guy," fet il, "demorés, [fol. 18.]
 "Od la pucele vus enveisés
 "E ieo en la cité irray
 "Hastiment reperyray."
 De la chambre s'en est Mordargor,
 Un cheval munt de grant valor,

A l'emperor s'en va tut dreit
 Kant l'emperirs venir le veyt
 En contre ly s'en e alé
 Noueles l' ad pus demandé.

Emp. "Ore auant, sir senescal,
 "Est ce ben u est ce mal?
 "Por quoy venes tus poynant?
 "Dites le moy, ie vus commant.
 "Si de Sarasis oy aues,
 "Dite le moy, ne me celes.

Sen. "Sire," fet il, "je vus diray,
 "Vostre hunte ne celeray:
 "Retenu auez un souder;
 "Honir vus fai e enginer.
 "De vostre file, la damoysele,
 "Fet en ad de ly auncele;
 "En vus chambres par force entrad
 "Ou yl Laurette pariu ad.
 "E ci de ce ne me crees,
 "De le reperir vus enhastes;
 "En vostre chambre porrez trover
 "Vostre file leysir e ascoler;
 "Por yce vint a vus moustrer
 "Ke vostre hunte ne voil celer.
 "Si vus prendre le feisez
 "E en vostre chartre le meysez
 "En vostre cure feissez juger,
 "En haut pendre u en mer veer,
 "Assez sirrez le plus dotes,
 "De tus yteus de vostre regnes;
 "Ne por ly ne lessez mye
 "Ne por nul de sa eye
 "Apres ke l'auret iuié,
 "E de la traytor sires liueré.
 "En Almayn vodray aler
 "Al riche, est por Reiner
 "Socur de ly ameneray,
 "Vostre cité ben defendray
 "De vus mortels enemys,
 "Ke vus hoïmes unt mors e ocis.

Emp. "Ne vus de ce," fet il, "parlear,"
 "Senescal, lessez ester.
 "Guy envers mey ne prindray [fol. 18b.]
 "Ne ce ke dit avez ne le fray,
 "Por les membres trencher,
 "Tant le say de chevalier;
 "Kar ma file promis l'ay,

"Covenant feyndre nel vodray."
 Kant le senescal oy avoit,
 L'emperur oyr ne vodroit,
 Ml't durement ly epeisat.
 A la cité tost reparat
 A chambre est pus entré,
 Ou Guy fet a pucele veisé.
 Tant tost cum en chambre entra,
 Guy a un part apella.

Sen. "Guy," fet il, 'ml't vus [pusse] amer
 Por ce vus voil mustrer:
 Al amperor est cunté
 Ke hunt ly as fet e vilté
 Ke sa file porni aves,
 En sa chambre par force entres.
 Si il ce put enteyndre
 Arder vus fra u en haut pendre.
 Ales vus en, ie [vus] comandt,
 Ne demores tant ne qant;
 Si en cete cité sirres trové
 A dolerus mort sirres livré.

The seneschal's machinations, however, come to naught; but
 a little later we find him again full of his wonted jealousy of the
 Emperor's favorite and plotting the latter's overthrow:—
fol. 20a.

Ore est Guy de mult grant pris,
 Ml't le eyment gent del pais;
 L'emperere ml't ly ad cher,
 Sun regne quide par ly recovrer.
 Ce ki ly plet ly est fet,
 Par nul ert ia retret.
 Cum ce ad veü Mordagore
 Li fels, ly traitor, ly gornenure,
 Dunc comence a porpenser
 Coment porra Guy enginer.
 Porpensé ad un felonye
 Ne itel n'oyte vus mye.

Compare these last verses with the following from *Dole* (3126
 -3145; 3185-3193).

"L'empereres fu a Coloigne,
 El iloece pres a ses chastiaus
 .XX. iors, et li seneschaus
 Toz iors ouoec et sire et mestre.
 Ml't resgarda la vie et l'estre
 Dou prodome et de son segnor,
 Qui li porte si grant honor,

Qu'il ne poent s'ensamble non
 En champ n'en bois ne en meson ;
 Toz iors sont ensamble, lor voel.
 Cil qui portoit .i. escuel
 Des armes Keu le Seneschal
 En son escu boucle d'archal
 En ot erronement grant envie.
 Il fu toz les iors de sa vie
 Assez plus fel que ne fu Keus+
 Il estoit ades ouoec eus
 Por engignier et por deçoïure,
 Savoir s'il peust aperçoïure
 Por qu'il i a si grant amor,"

* * * * *

"Par envie s'en departit
 D'ouoec euls, si vet a l'ostel.
 Onques lerres ne fu en tel,
 De porpenser que il fera,
 Ne com il les departira,
 Ou par engin ou par boisdie.
 Il porpensa une folie
 Onques nul hom ne pensa tel
 Por fere traison mortel."

In the romance *Del Conte de Poitiers* (Roman du Comte de Poitiers, publ. pour la première fois, d'après le ms. unique de l'Arsenal, par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1831) we have another form of the same story, differing widely from the *Roi Flore* and from *Dole*, but of interest here because of its having served, in connection with the latter, as the type of the *Roman de la Violette*.⁵ Raynouard, it is true, (Journal des Savants, Année, 1831, p. 390) inclines to the opinion that *La Violette* served rather as a model for the *Comte de Poitiers*, but the brevity and more primitive treatment of *Poitiers* as compared with the *Violette*, speak strongly in favor of the contrary view. A comparison of the three romances (*Dole*, *Poitiers* and the *Violette*) will establish that the last named has obtained from *Dole* its manner of intercalating the chansons, and from *Poitiers*⁶ the

⁴ Keu, who figures so extensively in the romances of the *Table Ronde*, presents the character of a *marplot* rather than of a traitor. His affinity, however, with the *sen'chal* in *Dole* is so clearly indicated, that nothing but a momentary distraction can account for my omission, above, to point it out.

⁵ Roman de la Violette, ou de Gerard de Nevers, en vers, du XIIIe siècle. Par Gibert de Montreuil; publ. &c. par Francisque Michel, Paris, 1834.

⁶ Cf. Gröber's Zeitschrift, 1832, VI. Band p. 104: "Jedes dieser beiden Gedichte gehört nach den Ausführungen von F. Wolf (In den Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik; Berlin, Juni, 1837, No. 114 und 115) einer ganz anderen Art und Kunststufe an; während der *ungenannte* Verfasser des ersten (*Poitiers*) wahrscheinlich ein Jongleur war, rührt der Roman de la Violette von einem eigentlichen Hof- und Kunst-dichter her."

entire framework of its plot. The relationship however between *Poitiers* and *Roi Flore* is apparently much less intimate than between *Dole* and *Flore*.

Following is Raynouard's analysis (l. c.), somewhat abridged, of the *Comte de Poitiers*:

Pépin tenoit sa cour à Paris, et avoit à sa table des ducs, chevaliers et comtes, parmi lesquels se trouvoit Gérard, Comte de Poitiers, qui assurait que sa femme étoit la plus belle et la plus fidèle des femmes. Piqué de ces jactances, le duc de Normandie offre de gager son duché contre le Poitou, qu'il obtiendra les bonnes grâces de la dame. Le défi est accepté. Le duc se rend à Poitiers, se présente à la comtesse, demande l'hospitalité, qu'elle lui accorde. Pendant le dîner, le duc se permet des privautés qui annoncent ses pretentions:

"Le pié li marche maintes fois."

Après le dîner, il fait sa déclaration, que le dame repousse, et elle se retire. La comtesse raconte à sa nourrice les propositions insolentes du duc. Celle-ci vient le trouver, et, trahissant sa maîtresse, offre de le servir de manière à ce qu'il puisse gagner son pari. Le duc promet une grande récompense. Alors cette femme félonne vole à sa maîtresse l'anneau du doigt, sans que celle-ci s'en aperçoive; en démêlant ses cheveux avec un peigne, elle en dérobe quelques uns; enfin elle coupe un peu "del bon samit qu'el ot vestu." La perfide remet au duc ces trois différents objets, dont il pourra faire usage contre la comtesse. En effet, il se présenta devant le roi Pépin, qui [par suite de ces indications] ordonne que la comtesse vienne à Paris. Le comte donne à son neveu Geoffroi le soin d'aller vers elle et de l'amener: elle arrive, elle nie d'avoir cédé; mais Pépin prononce en faveur du duc.

Après une longue suite d'aventures son innocence est établie et elle est restituée auprès de son mari. Quand le comte et son épouse sont retournés à Poitiers, ils ont un fils, "li bons quens Guy." C'est des aventures de ce fils qu'il s'agira désormais; il devient empereur de Constantinople.

This poem counts but 1709 verses, of which the first 1228 relate the wager of the count and its consequences, the remainder, in an entirely different strain, are devoted exclusively to the adventures of Guy, his son. With the exception of the wager, and the single combat at the close (not mentioned in

Raynouard's analysis of *Poitiers*) leading to the reinstatement of the wife, the want of resemblance between the *Roi Flore* and *Poitiers* is so conspicuous, that one would be tempted to regard them as entirely independent of each other, but the fact that in each case the restored wife becomes the mother of a future emperor of Constantinople, by way of sequel to the original story, affords a curious and not unwelcome evidence of their community of source.

Of the *Roman de la Violette*, which is a poem of 6656 verses, it is unnecessary to give an outline here.⁷ The incidents, as above indicated in the analysis of the *Comte de Poitiers*, and even the names of the two counts Gérard, and the two nephews, Geoffroy, show plainly enough whence Gibert de Montreuil drew his inspiration. For us, it is of greater interest to trace the influence which *Guillaume de Dole* exerted upon the composition of the *Roman de la Violette*.

The pride which the anonymous author of the former takes in signaling his new and happy thought of intercalating popular chansons in his story, may be taken as establishing beyond a doubt the priority of *Dole* to the *Violette*.⁸ Gibert's indebtedness to his unknown predecessor becomes evident from the outset. Remembering that the name of *Guillaume de Dole* is merely a modern invention—probably of Fauchet's⁹—to prevent confusion with the celebrated romance of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung; and that the true name of our poem, as appears from its appropriateness, from the author's own statement (verse 11), and from the copyist's testimony in his *explicit*, was the *Romans de la Rose*, we must consider, in the first place, Gibert's title as due simply to a variation of that of the earlier poem. It is also worthy of notice that in the *Comte de Poitiers*, which the *Violette* follows for a long time so closely, the inculcating *birth-mark* finds no place, so that the idea, as well as the name, is doubtless borrowed from *Dole*.

For the grace and appositeness of his introduction of the

⁷ Cf. Raynouard, *Journal des Savants*, 1831.

⁸ The argument has already been employed by Gaston Paris, *Hist. litt.* xxviii, article "Jakemon Sakesep."

⁹ In his 'Origine de la langue et po'sie fran oise, Ryme et Romans, Paris 1581,' p. 145, he calls the poem the *Romans de la Roze de Guillaume de Dole*. The MS. bears, by a later hand, probably his own, "Roman de la Rose ou de Guill. de Dole."

chansons, Gibert de Montreuil has shown himself a happy imitator of the author of *Guillaume de Dole*. It is perhaps the only feature in which he has fully equalled his predecessor. It is interesting to note that it is the "Chastelaine de Dijon"—the same, doubtless, from a literary point of view, at least, of whom we have already heard in *Dole*—who invites the Comte Gérard to sing the chanson which results in the unhappy wager. Another of the personages of *Dole* that reappears in the *Violette*, is the Comte de Forois. But in general Gibert appears to have taken special pains to avoid such repetitions.

For the modern translations, adaptations, &c., of the *Roman de la Violette*, as well as for the use of the same central idea by Boccaccio (*Decamerone*, II. 9) Sansovino (*Cento Novelle Scelte* III. 3) and Shakspeare, (*Cymbeline*), it will be sufficient to refer to the works of von der Hagen, Raynouard and Michel, already cited.

To resume briefly the facts more directly bearing upon *Dole*: it would appear that the prose romance of the *Roi Flore et la bielle Jehane* represents the earliest known form in French of the Indian tale in question; that the *Comte de Poitiers* is its first adaptation, in verse, by an unskilled jongleur who probably derived it from another and perhaps more primitive original; that a later court poet, perhaps without any acquaintance with the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers* drew directly either upon the *Roi Flore* or upon some closely related form for the central idea and several of the developments of *Guillaume de Dole*; and that, finally, Gibert de Montreuil undoubtedly made use directly both of the *Comte de Poitiers* and of *Guillaume de Dole* in the construction of his *Roman de la Violette*.

In view, then, of the conclusions briefly presented above, the statement of the author of *Dole* that

L'arcevesques par reverence
En fist en escrit l'estoire. (5612, 13).

will certainly not be considered as meaning that the author has followed in his poem the true story of an actual occurrence; and that this history was written by the archbishop who figures in the narrative: but rather that the author has chosen to introduce here an unfounded statement, suited to lend a certain air of reality to his altered form of a traditional story.

THE DATE OF THE POEM.

For the determination of the date at which *Guillaume de Dole* was written, we have a few indications which make it possible to reach an almost definite result. The question is interesting not only in itself, but also on account of its relation to the other romances with which *Dole* is more or less closely connected. The fact that this poem contains a large number of chansons the precise period of whose authors is uncertain, lends a more than ordinary importance to the establishment of as exact a date as possible for its composition.

By a good fortune that is rare in the case of the "poèmes d'aventure," the author had the happy thought of dedicating his romance to a personage whose name and some of the events of whose life were destined to be preserved to us. The *début* of the poem is as follows:—

Cil qui mist cest conte en romans,
Ou il a fet noter biaux chans
Por ramembrance des chançons,
Veut que ses pris et ses renons
Voist en Raincien, en Champaigne,
Et que li biaux *Miles* la pregne,
De Nanteucl, uns des preus del regne;

The first mention of Miles de Nanteuil which I have been able to discover is that of his election (without confirmation of the choice) to no less important a position than that of Archbishop of Reims. P. Tarbé, in his collection of 'Poètes Champenois,' introduction to 'Chansonniers de Champagne,' p. xlviij, speaks of him thus:—Milon de Nanteuil fut élu archevêque de Reims en 1201 : mais le choix du chapitre ne fut pas confirmé; il était, comme dit Fleury (Hist. ecclésiastique, liv. 80—Tom. xvii, §17), *plus miles quam episcopus*. Probablement ses habitudes guerrières et turbulentes s'opposèrent à ce qu'il ceignît la mitre. Plus tard, en 1210, il devint prévôt du chapitre, et en 1217 évêque de Beauvais: il prenait le titre de vice-gérant de l'église de Reims. Il fit don au trésor de la cathédrale d'un reliquaire contenant le chef de Ste-Barbe, et mourut en 1235 (v. Tables de Coquault¹⁰ p. 171, 183, 184, 187, 197). The passage of

¹⁰Coquault: Table chronologique, extraite sur l'histoire de l'église et de la province de Reims, in 4to, Reims M.DC.L.—This is not, however, the edition to which Tarbé makes his references, as the pages do not correspond. The work is an extremely curious one, tracing the history of Reims from the time of the Deluge (the usual starting point, for that matter, of the Middle Age chroniclers) in the form, in many cases, of chronologically arranged hints and suggestions of historical facts, rather than of positive information. Here are one or two illustrations:

The passage of Fleury's 'Histoire Ecclésiastique' referred to by Tarbé, is sufficiently characteristic and important to call for quotation. It is as follows: (Tom. 17, p. 37.)

Le roi Louïs n'avoit encore que dix-sept ans [Saint Louis, 1232], c'est pourquoi on doit attribuer à son conseil, plutôt qu' à lui, la conduite de la cour de France. Or elle avoit en même tems une affaire semblable avec l'évêque de Beauvais. C'étoit Milon de Nanteuil de la maison de Châtillon, plus guerrier qu'évêque. Le trouvant accablé de dettes, il alla trouver le pape Grégoire, pour le servir en sa guerre contre l'empereur Frédéric; et le pape ayant fait la paix donna à Milon le duché de Spolète et de la Marche à gouverner. Ce prélat apres avoir demeuré trois ans en Italie, reprit le chemin de France chargé de richesses: mais les Lombards l'arrêterent au retour et le pillèrent, en sorte qu'il perdit plus en son voyage qu'il n'y gagna."

André Duchesne, in his "Histoire de la Famille de Châtillon," pp. 614, 615, gives a notice of Miles de Nanteuil, in which his death is placed in the year 1232. Fleury and Coquault seem, however, to be in the right. Duchesne suggests an additional reason for the opposition to Miles de Nanteuil's confirmation as Archbishop of Rheims, viz.: that of his youth.

As a matter of mere probability, it seems much more likely that a poem of chivalry should have been dedicated to him about this time, than at a later period of his life. It is perhaps, also, not a fortuitous circumstance that the author should have dedicated to Miles de Nanteuil, candidate for the archbishopric of Rheims, a poem in which an Archbishop of Rheims occupies a not inconspicuous place. Would it not, at the same time, be a dubious and unlikely sort of compliment, to dedicate such a work to him after he had become a *defeated* candidate for the exalted post?

We find also, introduced into the narrative of the poem, a number of well-known historical personages, as to whose identity

1226 (p. 290) Du serment de l'Evêque de Beauvais, &c.

" Si Mlle Evêque de Beauvais prit un coadjuteur.

1228. De l' interdit mis par le chapitre en toutes les Eglises de Reims, pour les entreprises faites par les gens du ban del' Archevêque, sur les droits de l' Eglise. L'Archevêque, sur ce requis n'en voulant faire justice, compromis fait par l'Archev. et le chapitre .. Milo Evêque de Beauvais, et la sentence dudit Milo.

1235 (p. 304) Mort de Milo de Nantheuil Evêque de Beauvais, étant allé à Rome pour avoir raison contre les habitans de Beauvais, &c.

there can be no doubt. Such are GAUCHER DE CHÂTILLON, cousin, at only one or two removes, of Miles de Nanteuil: RENAUT, comte de Boulogne, one of the most conspicuous noblemen of his time: and MICHIEL DE HARNES, knight and man of letters. In connection with these and others who are sufficiently identified by their names, we find many noblemen mentioned merely by their titles. The question at once arises whether these titles are employed by the author to designate given persons, as is certainly the case with such names (e. g.) as Michiel de Harnes, or whether they are only vaguely introduced as familiar hereditary designations, without being directly associated with any particular bearer of them. It is surely more probable that when we are told that GAUCHER DE CHÂTILLON, GAUTIER DE JOEGNI, RENAUT DE BOULOGNE and the COMTE DE CHAMPAGNE are all on their way to a certain tournament, the COMTE DE CHAMPAGNE represents to the author's mind a definite person as distinctly as the other well-known names must have done. But supposing this to be conceded, is it likely that the author in describing so minutely the tournament which figures in *Guillaume de Dole*, intended to represent some actual event of the kind, the circumstances of which were substantially as here narrated? This question it would be much more hazardous to answer in the affirmative. It may be natural to suppose this, but it would be little scientific to argue from such a supposition. There is another strong probability, however, which is worthy of being advanced. It is that the author would have preferred to abstain from bringing upon the scene, along with persons still living, others who were dead, in prison, or absent, at the time of writing. RENAUD DE BOULOGNE, for example, was taken prisoner by Philippe Auguste at the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, and never regained his liberty. In a fictitious narrative, such as we evidently have, in large part, in *Dole*, the author would have shrunk from introducing among the gay chevaliers the name of one who was at the moment languishing in prison. Did the poem present a historic retrospect, the case would be altered, but we have plainly to do here with the introduction of a tournament not as a past historic event, but as a real or imaginary affair of yesterday, in the account of which the readers would be gratified to find their own names and the names of their friends. After his imprisonment in 1214, RENAUD DE BOULOGNE would have had no place

there. If this argument be accepted as forcible, it will help to a still earlier point of limitation for our poem.

We find that in 1201 Thibaut III., Comte de Champagne, dies suddenly at Troyes, leaving his title and inheritance to his posthumous son, Thibaut IV., who is to become later the celebrated *chansonnier*, and King of Navarre. After the lamented death, at the age of twenty-four, of the gay young Thibaut III., who leaves thus his heritage in abeyance, we should hardly have been presented with the picture of the Comte de Champagne pressing to the tournament with as many followers as he could raise. It is the one happy little historic coincidence, almost conclusive in its force, for which I had long sought in vain among the various personages figuring semi-fictitiously at the tournament.

In 1201, the ambitious Miles de Nanteuil was too *young* (for one reason) to be confirmed Archbishop of Rheims, but at the date of our romance he was already "*uns des preus del regne*," according to the author, who, as we have seen, was perhaps at the time of dedicating the poem, aware of his rising pretensions to the archbishopric: *Guillaume de Dole*, then, could not well have been written very long prior to that date, and were we to assign to its composition the year 1200, we should probably be not far from the exact truth. This however is a date which, if accepted, will necessitate certain slight changes in the current literary chronology of the early part of the XIIIth century. *Guillaume de Dole* contains one of the chansons of the Châtelain de Coucy. In his recent article on JAKEMON SAKESPE, author of the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy* (Hist. litt. t. xxviii.), M. Gaston Paris is inclined to place the chansons in the second decade of the XIIIth century. I cannot now enter into the discussion of his arguments. The whole question of the date of *Guillaume de Dole*, and of its bearings on the date of the *Roman de la Violette*, of the *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy*, of the *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy* and of various other chansons intercalated in *Dole* calls for a much more exhaustive treatment than can here be accorded it. That our *Roman de la Rose*, again, is anterior to the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris admits of no doubt. Whether the name is a plagiarism committed by Guillaume de Lorris on the earlier work, or whether its adoption was a mere coincidence, is an interesting question, upon which, for the present, I do not enter. It is

unnecessary to point out that the two poems present no further resemblances. An error of interpretation into which Ferdinand Wolf (Über Raoul de Houdenc, &c.) has fallen, regarding the relative priority of *Dole* and the allegoric *Rose*, will appear incidentally in the remarks which are to follow, upon the authorship of *Dole*.

THE AUTHOR OF THE POEM.

As has been already stated, the author of *Guillaume de Dole* is unknown. The poem itself contains, at its close, a tantalizing hint that the author's omission of his name was not unintentional:

"Et cil se veut reposer ore
Qui le ior perdi son sornon
Qu'il entra en religion."

Wolf (l. c.) discusses the claims of Raoul de Houdenc to this honor: Zu der Annahme von Raoul's Autorschaft scheint *Fauchet's* durch Nichts begründete Anführung (l. c.): "Car au Roman de Guillaume de Dole, Raoul de Houdenc dict etc." (folgt eine Stelle aus dem Eingang des Gedichtes), und eine Bemerkung Veranlassung gegeben zu haben, die von neuerer Hand (wohl auch Fauchet's?) neben dem Titel in der Vaticinischen Handschrift eingeschrieben worden ist, und die nach Görres Mittheilung (a. a. O.) also lautet: Cō pse cu = semble un moin (*sic*; vielleicht: comme je pense, ce semble au moins?) depuis le temps Raoul Houdan, puis qu'il en dit les chansons, car Raoul estoit mort avant l'an 1221, ainsi qu'il est dit au Tournoi d'Antechrist."¹¹

The copy taken by myself (without comparison with Görres's) of the note which stands at the head of the poem in the MS., makes a very different showing from that which is above cited by Wolf. It reads as follows: "Cōpse (ce semble) par Raoul de Houden [which name is erased and the following substituted:] Ung moine depuis le temps Gasse Brulé, puisqu'il en die les chansons. Car Raoul estoit mort avant l'an 1221,¹² ainsi qu'il est dit au Tournoi d'Antechrist." The meaning of

¹¹ "Vielleicht hat auch zu der Annahme von Raoul's Autorschaft Veranlassung gegeben, dass in der Vat. Hdt. unmittelbar auf dies. Rom. Raoul's *Meraugis* folgt."

¹² An error for 1227, cf. Tournoi d'Antechrist.

this is evident. Fauchet recorded on the MS. his first impression: "Composé [*not* "comme je pense"] (ce semble) par Raoul de Houden." But having later discovered that the poem contained quotations from Gasse Brulé, who was until recently supposed to have written towards the middle of the XIIIth century, and that the author "entra en religion," he considered himself bound to erase the name of Raoul, (who was dead, according to Huon de Méri, before 1227) and to substitute for it "ung moine [*not* "au moins"] depuis le temps Gasse Brulé, etc."

The careless substitution, by Görres, of the name Raoul Houdan for that of Gasse Brulé in his transcription, leads Wolf to argue against Raoul's authorship, since the poem contains no chansons attributed to him. He continues: Denn weder trägt eines der darin vorkommenden Liederbruchstücke den Namen Raoul's, noch berechtigt der daraus zu entnehmende Charakter des Ganzen dazu, ihn für den Verfasser zu halten. Vielmehr spricht dieser *dagegen*. Denn dieser Roman gehört sowohl der Sprache als seinem ganzen Charakter nach, schon einer späteren Zeit, der Mitte oder zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jh. an, als man anfang diese Romans d'aventure durch Einschaltung von beliebten Liedern und Stellen aus den Chansons de geste zu würzen (hier ist auch eine Stelle aus der Chanson de geste de Garin le Loherain eingeschaltet, Rapport, p. 282) wie in den aus nicht viel früherer Zeit stammenden Romanen de la Violette (1225); du châtelain de Coucy (1228) d'Aucassin et Nicolette, etc.

* * * * *

Ferner sprechen einige Stellen gegen Raoul's Verfasserschaft; wie im Eingange (a. a. O.)

En cestui romans de la Rose
Qui est une novele chose
Et s'est des autres si divers,

Woraus wir erfahren, dass der Verfasser seinen Roman zwar auch *de la Rose* genannt habe, dass dieser aber eine ganz *neue* Erfindung, ganz verschieden von jenen anderen, d. i. wohl den beiden Romanen *von der Rose* des Guillaume de Lorris u. Jean de Meung sei.—From this interpretation of the passage, Wolf argues that Dole is probably posterior even to the continuation of the *Rose* by Jean de Meung. But there is no difficulty in understanding by "*les autres*" of the passage in question, *les autres romans d'aventure*, or *les autres poèmes en général*.

The context decidedly favors this sense, for the conclusion of the sentence is: [*si divers*] "*Que vilains nel porroit savoir.*" Wolf quotes, in the last place, the closing verses of the poem ("Il entra en religion") with the remark that they "sagen doch ganz bestimmt aus: dass der Verfasser seinen Bei- oder Zunamen an dem Tage verloren habe, an dem er in den *geistlichen Orden* getreten sei, wie das gewöhnlich der Fall war; aber auch dieser Umstand passt, *wie wir gesehen haben* (the italics are not the author's) *nicht* (Wolf italicizes) auf unserm Raoul." How little "wir gesehen haben" that Raoul did not take orders at some time in his life, will appear by quoting the passage to which Wolf appeals (l. c., p. 2.):

"Fauchet nennt Raoul nebst Chrétien zwar ebenfalls "bons pères" d. i. de la littérature française; aber er und alle seine Nachfolger geben wenig Ausschluss über dessen Leben so dass wir uns hierüber nur auf die paar Daten beschränkt sehen, die dessen eigene Werke enthalten."

This much has been said of Raoul de Houdenc, not with any view to maintaining that he is the author of *Dole*, but in order to show that none of Wolf's objections to such a theory are valid. The fact is that Raoul de Houdenc's style and language resemble sufficiently these traits in *Dole* to warrant a thorough comparison of the latter with Raoul's works, especially with *Meraugis de Porlesguez*¹³ and *Messire Gauvain, ou la Vengeance de Raguidel*.¹⁴ The probability appears to be, however, that *Guillaume de Dole* will remain anonymous.

THE PERSONAGES OF THE POEM.

I have already had occasion to mention a certain number of the persons whose names are scattered so freely throughout the poem of *Dole*. A simple list will suffice to indicate the richness and interest of the subject. One or two explanatory remarks, however, should not be omitted. In the choice of a German Emperor, Conrad, as one of the most conspicuous characters of his story, the author of *Dole* has adopted the same device as

¹³ P. p. H. Michelant, Paris, 1869.

¹⁴ P. p. C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862. From a careful reading of these two works I incline strongly to attribute them to the same author. Wolfram Zingerle 'Ueber R. de H. und seine Werke, Erlangen, 1880,' reaches the conclusion that the Raoul of *Raguidel* is *not* Raoul de Houdenc; but his own showing seems to me to point rather to their identity.

that followed by Chrétien, author of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*: that is to say, he has attached to a historical name a series of adventures either purely fictitious, or at least not appropriate to the personage in question. The Conrad whose fame commended him to the literary purposes of the author of our poem, was probably Conrad III., Emperor of Germany from 1137 to 1152. The war between the Comte de Gueldre and the Duc de Bavière in which the Emperor is represented as having intervened, appears to have its sufficient counterpart in an event touching a Comte de Gueldre during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor from 1152 to 1190. Towards the year 1180, the Comte de Guerre being at war with Baudouin II., Evêque d'Utrecht, the Emperor Frederick I. "étant survenu * * * * ménagea une trêve entre lui et le prélat" (*L'Art de vérifier les dates*, 3^e éd. III. p. 168). The coincidence is at least worth noting.

A list of the leading persons, real or fictitious, mentioned in *Guillaume de Dole*, may be given as follows:

Le duc de Mayence,	Alains de Roussi,
Le comte de Savoie,	Gaucher de Châtillon,
Le comte de Lucelebourg (Luxembourg),	(Savaric?) de Maulion,
Le duc de Genevois,	Renaut, comte de Bologne,
Le comte de Sagremors (legendary?),	Le duc de Louvain,
Eudes, sire de Ronqueroles,	Galerans de Lamborc (Limbourg),
"Li Barrois," (perhaps the same as Le comte de Bar),	Le comte de Tré (Trèves)
Le comte de Los (Loss),	Aigret de Graine,
Le sire de Dinant,	Gautier de Joegni,
Dan Constanz,	Le roi d'Angleterre,
Le Prévôt de Spires,	Hues de Braieselve,
Le comte d'Aubours (Augsburg?),	La Bele Marguerite,
La duchesse d'Osteriche (Austrie),	Robert Macie,
Le comte de Guerre,	"Mon segnor Gasson" (Brulé),
Le duc de Bavière,	Doete de Troyes,
Le comte de Perche,	Sire de Pire (Spires?),
Le duc de Saissoigne (Saxe),	Sire de Nivelle,
Le chevalier de Saissoigne	L'évêque de Liège,
Garandel Auborc "et	Le comte de Clève,
Le duc son père,"	Le comte d'Aloz (Alost),
Renaut de Beaujeu,	Michiel de Harnes,
Le comte de Foroïs,	Renaut de Sabloeil,
Le comte de Champagne,	Le vidame de Chartres,
	La châtelaine de Dijon,
	Le sire de Hui,
	Le duc de Borgoigne.
	Gautier de Sagnies,
	Le sire de Coucy.

There remain the more especially philological questions, which would properly call for elucidation in a complete study. Such are, in particular, the discrimination between the language of the author and that of the copyist, and the determination of the dialect of each, that is to say, of the region in which each wrote, and of the dialect peculiarities characterizing those regions. But it will not be possible to present a discussion of these topics at the present writing. I have, however, prepared a complete dictionary of the rhymes in *Guillaume de Dole*, from which I am able to present a certain number of interesting facts; though the fully intelligent utilization of the dictionary would call for an amount of special study which I have not as yet been in a position to bestow.

Of forms peculiar to the copyist the following may be mentioned:

meisme: *acesme*, 956; read *meesme*. Cf. *ferme*: *meesme*, 575.

lessiee: *boisdie*, 3196; read *lessie*.

escondit: *serviz*, 5522; read *escondiz*.

eschiz: *baillis*, 585; read *eschis*.

empereres: *ere*, 2736; } such rhymes illustrate the confusion of the
freres: *mere*, 5612; } rule of the *s*.

melle: *valee*, 2762; read *mellee*, cf. *mellee*, 3981.

ferons: *chancon*, 1178; read *feron*.

mises: *ademise*, 860; read *ademises*?

lues: *noef*, 2610; read *nues*.

deu: *neveu*, 4063; " *neveu*.

genz: *argent*, 465; " *gent*.

jugiez: *pitié*, 5046; " *pitiez*.

Peculiarities of the author are, among others, that *r* and *s* are regularly treated as silent, before other consonants, and *r* sometimes so, as the last of a consonant group. *L* is occasionally treated in the same manner. Examples are very numerous:

R silent: Tierce: *piece*, 631, 259, 2324, 3574, &c., *bos*: *cors*, 165, 175. Bourjois: *avoirs* 591; *large*: *voiage*, 1869; *marge*: *lignage*, 1632, *as*: *ars*, 2852, 4672; *angre*: *change*, 4520; *volentiers*: *bries*, 882; *chevaliers*: *bries*, 3058; *dangiers*: *gries*, 3006; *vert*: *vallet*, 505; *œuvre*: *proeue*, 3831; *cors*: *ados*, 2189; *dehors*: *los*, 2694; *voirs*: *estrelois*, 4824; *avoirs*: *rois*, 4850; *mot*: *mort*: *coffre*: *orfe*, 4049;

S silent: *departist* (subjunc.): *departit* (indic.) 5489; *partist*: *departit*, 3184; *nuist*: *nuit*, 2596; *prime*: *aprisme*, 231 (mistaken orthography); *cote*: *oste*, 1828.

S final is sometimes neglected in the rhyme:

Einsi : païs, 5602 ; autresi : Vl., 2117 ; autresi : assis, 2892 ; vert : vers, 4556 ; or : cors, 5103 ; estor : tors, 107.

L. silent : conseil : let, 4882 ; angoisseux : seuls, 3720 ; genouls : douz, 5239 ; onques : oncles, 3827 ; onques : escharboncles, 2738.

The sounds of *l* and *r* are so dimmed or confused as even to enter together in the same rhyme : apellent : reperent, 777 ; parole : ore, 4310 ; paroles : ores, 4372 ; fille : atire, 1508. The word *fille* rhymes also with *ele*, this rhyme being immediately followed by the rhyme *pucele* : *ele* ; notwithstanding the accepted principle that a rhyme is never immediately duplicated. The text reads as if it had not been corrupted, and I find no explanation of this curious example. The rhyme *fer-mail* : *cheqal*, 1000, 3658, is also to be noted.

Numerous other peculiarities of the rhyme promise to yield interesting results on further study. As a rule the versification is careful and regular ; and the number of false rhymes is comparatively very small.

THE CHANSONS.

The chansons interspersed throughout *Guillaume de Dole* have already been the object of so much attention on the part of scholars, that it only remains to present here what has not been given elsewhere, viz., a collected list of all the songs, complete or fragmentary, indicating where they have been previously published :—

Enondeu, Sire, se ne l'ai (2 verses), Romvart, p. 584.

La ius desoz la raine, (4 verses, intercalated twice in *Dole*), Romvart, p. 584.

Se mes amis m'a guerpie, (2 verses), Romvart, p. 584.

Main se leva bele Aeliz, (several fragments), Romvart, p. 585 ; Archives, p. 283 ; Bartsch, p. 208.

C'est tot la giens el glaioloi, (4 verses), Romvart, p. 585 ; Archives, p. 208.

C'est la ius desoz l'olive, (2 stanzas of 6 verses, intercalated in different places), Jahrbuch XI., p. 160.

C'est tot la ius en mi les prez, (4 verses), Jahrbuch XI., p. 159.

Quant flors et glais et verdure s'esloigne, (by Gasse Brulé ; 7 verses), Jahrbuch XI., 160.

Li nouviaus tens et mais et roissigneux, (by the Châtelain de Coucy, 8 verses), Archives, p. 279 ; Jahrbuch, XI., 160.

Fille et la mere se sieent a l'orfrois, (8 verses), Archives, p. 280; Bartsch, p. 17.

Siet soi bele Aye, &c., Archives, p. 281; Bartsch, p. 16.

La bele Doe siet au vent, (2 Stanzas of 7 and 6 verses, respectively. Bartsch, apparently to equalize the stanzas, omits the third verse of the first stanza), Archives, p. 281; Bartsch, p. 17.

Lors que li ior sont lonc en mai, (8 verses), Archives, p. 282; Jahrbuch, XI., p. 160.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Umschreibung einer provenzalischen Strophe von Jaufre Rudel, Mahn, Werke der Troubadour, I., 65."

Des que Fro. au vencor tenca, (33 verses), Jahrbuch, XI. p. 161; Archives, p. 282, (in part).

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Fragment aus dem noch ungedruckten Girbert de Metz."

NOTE BY P. PARIS:—"Ce passage est tiré de la partie inédite de la chanson de geste de Garin le Loherain."

Loial amor qui en fin cuer s'est mise, (by Renaut de Baiuiieu, —"Beaujeu," (7 verses), Archives, p. 282; Jahrbuch, XI. 161.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Das Lied steht anonym in St. Germain, 1989, u. in Cang. 66. Der Dichter war bisher nur als Verfasser des Romans *Le bel Inconnu* bekannt."

Mout me demeure que n'oi chanter, (7 verses), Archives, p. 284.

C'est la ius en la praele, (6 verses), Archives, p. 284; Bartsch, 221.

Contre le temps que voi frimer, (9 verses), Archives, p. 285; Jahrbuch, p. 162.

La bele Aiglentine, (50 verses), Archives, p. 285; Bartsch, p. 4.

NOTE BY P. PARIS:—"Cette jolie chanson est tr's corrompue dans le manuscrit du Vatican. Chaque couplet devait avoir quatre vers de dix syllabes, et un refrain de deux vers in'gaux."

Mauberon s'est main levé, &c., (6 verses), Bartsch, p. 221.

Renaus et s'amie chevauche par un pre, (3 verses), Bartsch, p. 18.

De Renant de Mousson, (7 verses), Bartsch, p. 18.

La gieus desoz la raine, (repeated: cf. 2d chanson).

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Die beiden letzten Zeilen dieser Motets sind ein beliebtes Refrain: vgl. "*Cour de Paradis*," 270, und die Lieder Baudouin de la Kakerie, "*Main se leva*," und von Pierre de Corbie, "*Pensis com fins amoureux*."

Mout est fous que que nus dic, &c., (8 verses), Jahrbuch, XI. 163.

Quant de la foelle espoissent li vergier (8 verses), Archives, p. 287.

Quant ge li donai le blanc pelicon, (4 verses), Archives, p. 287; Bartsch, p. 221.

Cele d'Oisseri ne met en oubli, (2 Stanzas of 6 verses each), Bartsch, p. 222.

Je di que c'est granz folie, (7 verses), Archives, p. 287; Jahrbuch, XI. p. 163.

NOTE:—Cf. *Violette*, p. 68, "Par Diu! je tienc a folie D'essaiier ne d'esprouver."

Por quel forfet ni por quel ochoison, (8 verses), Jahrbuch, XI. p. 164.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Lied von Roger d' Andelis."

Ja de chanter en ma vie, (8 verses), Archives, p. 288; Jahrbuch, XI. 164.

Attributed by the author of *Dole* to Renaut de Sabloeil. Note by BARTSCH:—"Sonst Gaces Brules beigelegt, Hitt. litt. XXIII., 707."

Quant li douz tenz et sesons s'asseure, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 164.

Tot la gieus sor rive mer, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 164.

Quant revient la seson, (11 verses), Bartsch, p. 222.

Amours a non ciz maus qui me tourmente, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, 165.

Bele m'est la voiz altane, (7 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 166.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Uebertragung einer Strophe von Daude de Pradas: 'Bela m'es la voiz altana.'"

Que demandez vos? (6 verses), Jahrbuch, p. 165.

Or viennent Pasques les beles en avril, (2 Stanzas of 8 and 10 verses respectively), Archives, p. 289; Bartsch, p. 17.

Quant voi l'aloete moder, (2 Stanzas of 8 verses each), Archives, p. 289; Jahrbuch, p. 166.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Uebertragung des bekannten Liedes von Bernart de Ventadorn."—Cf. Bartsch: Chrest 52, 53, and *La Violette*, p. 199.

Lorsque florist la bruere, (2 Stanzas of 8 verses each), Archives, p. 290; Jahrbuch, p. 166.

NOTE BY BARTSCH:—"Bricht so unvollständig ab: Das Lied fand sich unter den Liedern von Gautier de Soignis in der Pariser Hs. 7222 vor ihrer Verstümmelung: vgl. Dinaux 4, 268."—The author of *Dole* attributes the chanson to "*Gautier de Sagnies*."

C'est la gieus, la gieus, (11 verses), Archives, p. 290; Bartsch, 210.

C'est la gieus en mi les prez, (6 verses), Archives, p. 291; Jahrbuch p. 167.

CONCLUSION.

A few words in the way of a literary estimate of the poem we have been studying, may properly conclude this article. Of the various characteristics which lend so striking an individuality to the romance of *Guillaume de Dole*, one of the most conspicuous is its complete *unity* of design and execution. It is rare indeed to find a romantic poem of the twelfth or thirteenth century, in which the reader is not led away into long digressions having little or no connection with the main action of the story. To discover then, as in *Dole*, a narrative in which every verse that is not devoted to local coloring, tends directly to the preparation or development of a single well defined and rapidly progressing action, produces upon the student of Old French the effect of a literary novelty.

Not less unexpected and agreeable in *Guillaume de Dole*, is the almost complete absence it exhibits of the element, so in-

